FREE SOCIETY

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Lines at the Tomb of a Plutocrat.

Low was his aim—vile Mammon was his God;
Bleak was his life, unholy and unblest;
Low let him lie—low as the path he trod—
Nor shed one tear to sanctify his rest;

The monarch sleeps; pass onward and away;
Death has dethroned him and the grave is firm;
All that he was—less than the reeking clay—
Is now the feast of his superior worm;

Yet he was "great"—fools fawned and vassals served;
The slave endured him and the world extolled;
By wealth's green glamor was the nation swerved
And earth lay blinded in the glare of gold.

He lived, he died; the earth from whence he came
Received its own, and back, into the dust,
Dissolved the being whose unhallowed name
Alone remains—the synonym of lust!

Of prostrate fools he made his stepping-stones!
And climbed to fortune on the backs of slaves;
He reared his throne of skulls and paupers' bones;
And reached success upon the route of graves;

Unloved he lived, unmourned he could but die—
A fallen knave, unpitied by his kind;
Unwept his fate—unhonored let him lie,—
Starved was his soul and naked was his mind!

His greatest virtue was his smallest vice,
His keenest pleasure was in others' pain;
What was his wealth? More was the sacrifice,
Since all his life—unlived—has proven vain.

T. Shelley Sutton, in *Brann's Iconoclast.*

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Morality and Public Opinion.

Public opinion is a narcotic. Narcotics have the power of stupefying the cerebral faculties, of inducing sleep, of deadening the ordinary sensibility.

People who are addicted to the use of public opinion, people who live on it, who have no thoughts or desires save those which public opinion approves—such people display the same effects as are produced by other narcotics. They are more or less mentally stupefied; they are more or less asleep; their sensibilities are deadened.

If you go to the ordinary man or woman with a moral question, you will get such an answer as almost any other man or woman would have given. They all have the same standard of what is right or wrong. They are conventionalized. They are under the hypnosis of what is customary. It is a form of control, a yielding to suggestion. It is the mind of the many exerting its influence upon the minds of each. It is a thinking with another's brain; a choice that is in fact a constraint; a movement, seemingly voluntary, but actually enforced. Public morality, I mean a morality based upon and guided by public opinion, is mechanical and heartless. It is so far from moral in the true sense that it is demoralizing in its tendencies.

I understand that the occasional use of narcotics produces a craving for their repeated use which, if indulged, becomes in time an almost resistless habit.

I understand the more one yields to suggestion and control—the more passive and submissive one becomes, until in time the personal will entirely disappears.

This seems true of morals, as well as in the other realms of thought and action. The soul that seeks its direction from outside, the heart that dare not trust its own impulses, the life that is conventional becomes subject to a fixed and almost resistless habit, and is actuated by a foreign will.

This morality of the crowd makes automatons of men. It is something put on, a mantle, a dress, a decoration subject to all the variations of fashion.

Now, let me affirm that it is good to have an agreement in society as to what is right and what is wrong. But that agreement must arise from the natural uniformity of human experience, and not be produced by conformity to any artificial standard.

There are traditions of the race which do inspire respect. It is possible for people to live in accordance with such traditions without doing any violence to their personal inclinations. But they are such traditions that, if they had not been previously established, the mind and heart of any normal individual would none the less instinctively realize the beauty and righteousness of that which they enforce.

Regard for the simple truth, respect for purity, reverence for old age, sympathy for the unfortunate, the helpless, the sorrowing—all these are none the less moral because adopted by society in general. It may be that it is conventionally proper and socially respectable to be truthful and pure and kindly disposed. Such high conduct might become fashionable. If so, such virtues would be no less excellent, because they are in themselves, regardless of social prestige, virtues such as the heart and mind instinctively accept and desire.

But were it not so, and did people become truthful and pure and kindly disposed, only because society expects it and it is proper, such conduct would cease to have moral value.

If the agreement of a given number of people as to what is morally right is a natural agreement—an agreement of ideas and desires to which each one has instinctively been drawn, so much the better. It is then a voluntary agreement; and people's views harmonize with that same spontaniety which we see in the harmony of the wild flowers, the birds, the circling seasons, the landscape and the sunset.

But if the agreement of a given number of people as to what is morally right be not a natural spontaneous agreement, but is produced through some sort of force or by an appeal to mere love of approbation or to the fear of criticism—then so much the worse.

Better no agreement at all than to have all men and women compelled to accept one moral standard.

There is a wrong way to do right. I care not how irreproachable a man's conduct may be, if he is actuated by mean motives he deserves contempt. On the other hand, I care not how far short of my ideas of excellence a man's conduct may fall, given an honest desire to do his best as he understands it, and his conduct possesses a moral value.

Better to be conscientiously and devotedly a fiend, than to be pretentiously and vainglorously an angel. . . .

People in society, who are acting under a species of hypnotic influence—moved by social suggestion, people who are morally narcotized, are exceedingly lenient to respectable weaknesses, and exceedingly bitter against unconventional self-assertion.

In mechanics, in science and philosophy, there is a certain expectancy. No one really believes in the impossibility of an improvement on these lines. An announcement of some great discovery, some new and unique invention, or the expression of a novel philosophical formula, is not so startling an event as it used to be. We have grown to expect such things.

But in the realm of morals the world is as circumscribed and fixed as ever. Any new ideas of morality, which in any way conflict with current social conduct, have to run the severest kind of gauntlet.

People are so powerfully prepossessed by the conventional ideas of morality that they do not believe that people of opposite ideas can have any morality.

Difficult as it has been for the world to rid itself, in part, of theological bigotry, the difficulty is nothing as compared with what it will cost to rid the world of this tyranny of social morality. Upon no other subject is the average person so ready to resent any adverse criticism. To be moral means nothing more or less than "to be respectable." It has reference, not to what one's actual desire or taste might lead one to do, but to what one is expected to do. It is such conduct as is generally approved as opposed to my conduct which would be socially discredited.

Human nature, in its present perverted condition, leads us to desire the good opinion of the world. To be thought well of, even by those whose usual thoughts we value lightly, is a master motive with most of us. . . .

Civilization exists because of certain traditions and customs, and could not have developed to its present condition without them. We owe a certain respect to those traditions and customs, because of what they have so far contributed to human advancement; but we should remember that what was a means to an end is not to be substituted for the end. The end is an ideal social state and a perfected individual life. The end is the highest possible satisfaction of all healthy human desires.

The present condition of social progress is the result of certain traditions; but the continued advancement of society calls for the

destruction, one by one, of whatever tradition or custom may have outlived its usefulness.

It is at this point—where old traditions must be abandoned—that the true moralist makes his fight. It is at this point that we find out whether or no we really desire human advancement more than our personal comfort.

The fear of seeming peculiar, the desire to avoid unpleasant publicity, keeps thousands of us on our knees before some painted idol that is no longer a god to us. We are bold and outspoken privately, but our moral cowardice keeps us from openly endorsing that which has not yet secured a general acceptance.

People may be exceedingly radical in minor matters and shamefully conservative where important matters are at stake. It is hard to convince a man of the truth or righteousness of any thought or action which would conflict with his private interests or passions. And nowhere is there so stiff a conservatism as upon moral questions.

Independent action along ethical lines, the use of any other than the customary moral standard, sooner than anything else will make an otherwise straightforward man hedge and dodge and be circuitous. It all comes from our inordinate love of social approbation and our fear of ridicule. . . .

A man needs to examine society from the outside—free from any of its entanglements—and in a position to consider the origin, growth and decline of social customs. Then he will see that, as Ralph Waldo Emerson says, "Good and bad are but names very readily transferable to that or this." He will see that all conformity to custom is a poor and feeble substitute for personal virtue.

Conformity to custom is not morality any more than the repetition of a creed is religion.

Personal virtue is the expression of an individual thought and desire. It is the embodiment of self in action. The man must be in what he says or his behavior is only pretense. Morality is as far above the mere conformity to custom as the reasoning of a Plato is above the chattering of an ape. To be a truly moral action the act must sustain as vital a relation to the actor as a child sustains to its mother. As a true mother to her child so is a truly moral person to his action. It is his action, the outgrowth of his being, the incarnation of his desire and love. No other child can be substituted for one's own. The mother lives in her child. So no other course of conduct can be an adequate substitute for that which is one's own. The man should live in his action. . . .

A mother does not love her child out of fear of any penalty or regard for any reward. She is not induced to be kind and tender to it because it is the custom and it would not be "respectable" to do otherwise. Such considerations with regard to her relation to her child never touch a true mother. Her love for her child is as her love for herself—the child is herself renewed and made real to her outward sight. To submit a proposition to a true mother that if she is good to her child she will be rewarded is to insult her womanhood and her motherhood. Of course she will love that which is her own life.

So with a man and his virtue—if he be a true man, his virtue is dearer to him than any reward it could bring. A virtuous man is untouched by any consideration as to what it will cost, or as to what he will gain by his conduct.

Wendell Phillips once said, "Till you judge men and things on different principles, I do not much care what you think of me; I have outgrown this interesting anxiety."

A true man cannot be turned aside by any ulterior consideration from such conduct as his thought and desire determine. A true man acts in accordance with his personal, genuine convictions, even when by so doing he is acting in opposition to all precedents and customs. He does not float in the general current of popular favor. He is not drifting with the tide, only to turn wherever and whenever the tide turns. He has no other anxiety than to so act as to satisfy his own nature. He is a man and he has a mind, and to do or say anything that is against the clearest, sanest thought of his own mind would be to him a profanation, though it might be to all others no matter how seemingly commendable.

If a man does right from any other cause or reason than because of his own honest conviction and his free resolve, his action will miscarry and his right becomes wrong. . . .

The man who uses a virtue as a passport to good society, here or hereafter, makes a vice of virtue. A righteous act is one that is done from the pure love of right with no other pressure upon us than the simple love of what is right.

Oh, for a real Christ who could lash the vulgar money-changers out of the temple of manly and womanly virtue! A Christ who could cry out with the same divine wrath, "Woe unto you hypocrites!" . . .

"We have too much legislation and too little individual responsibility;" too many paths are fenced in; too much is prescribed; we act too largely with an eye to stage effect. . . .

I ask not what you know, or what you desire; but have you the courage to act according to what you really know and desire? This is the supreme moral test.

Your knowledge may be defective and your desires may be for the time unworthy; but better that, and a brave and manly spirit, than to be wise as Solomon and faultless as a cherub, and be wanting in spirit. . . .

Of course you understand my meaning. I don't urge anyone to do wrong, but I despise a cloaked and guarded morality.

Because a man owns his own shot and gun he is not justified in shooting wherever he chooses. But if he shoot at all, let him have an aim and be true to it. The life that we are living is forced upon us. We come into the world without our solicitation, and surely we are entitled to whatever satisfaction we can get out of life.

We come into a world full of rules and regulations. The old usages are thrust upon us. Our own inclinations are not consulted. We are expected to accept a life we did not ask for, and then to live it according to rules we had no hand in making.

I say, let other people's lives alone. This should be a different world for each separate person. Each man should see and approve whatever his own nature fits him to see and approve. He is a new being and for him it is a new world. Let him alone to discover in it a meaning suited to his nature.

Society is a menagerie of wild animals that have been caged, put under restraint, more or less tamed, and taught to do tricks. While the master's eye is on them and his whip is in hand, these human animals are submissive and meek. But let the fear of punishment or the desire for some choice morsel be once removed, and something of their true nature shows itself. . . .

Let the real nature of a man appear without disguise. If he is evil at heart he is all the more dangerous the more he is taught to conceal what he is and appear to be what he is not.

The great evil of society is that it encourages deceit and imitation. It makes the bear dance, the ape to play the man, the elephant to sing and each to assume a pose not in keeping with his proper nature.

"Mind your own business" is not too fine a way of expressing an admonition of fundamental ethical importance.

There are very few people who have any real hold upon themselves. It is pitiful to see the way people vacilate between the thing they think they aught to do and what they are expected to do.

The man as he is in himself is repressed and mutilated. You know him by his party or by his social position or by his religious affiliations; but you do not know him as a man. The real man is an unknown quantity. He himself never gets more than an occasional glimpse of what in his selfhood he might have been. This obliteration of the individual counteracts the main advantage of existence and overturns all values.

Herein consists the immorality of a slavish regard for what is customary—it seduces the individual into unnatural ways, and he fails to find in life what can satisfy his nature. His activities and occupations are forced upon him. He plays the part of another, and his genius never gains a full and round expression. He is guided in what he thinks and does by considerations in which his own real inclinations find but little place. He lives to be seen, to attract attention, to win approval, to live in and be one of the crowd. . . .

Life is a valueless thing except in so far as we can find in it, with some degree of satisfaction, what we ourselves really are. It is our only opportunity for the discovery and fulfilment of self. All human duty is comprised within one supreme obligation—to make the best of so much of our own being as we may be able to grasp.

Beware of whoever comes in the name of whatever excellence to teach you the lesson of self-effacement.

If your life is to be a contribution of any value to the world, it must first acquire value of itself. The circumference of your benevolence must have within it some center of self-regard. Those who neglect their own welfare cannot be wisely entrusted with what concerns their neighbors or the race.

If your motive in going outside of your own life is to truly benefit others, even so you will have to learn that their welfare depends primarily upon themselves. In the long run the best you can do for others is to keep out of their way.

That is what I mean when I say that mind your own business is an admonition of fundamental ethical importance.

Human beings should be like a magnificent forest—each individual of which requires that all others should keep their distance. One must have ample room to achieve strength and symmetry. Too much crowding turns elsewise grand developments into tangled undergrowths.

Alcott, Colo. VICTOR E. SOUTHWORTH.

—o—

An Open Letter.

I have of late received several postals and letters of inquiry respecting the reports in the daily press, that I am against force, or propaganda by deed. I should have paid little attention to these reports, for I thought that my personal friends would not believe anything said in the newspapers about me; and those comrades who believe them, simply show how little they know of the capitalistic press. But it was the reply Comrade Isaak gave to someone in the last issue of FREE SOCIETY, that induced me to make this statement.

I have never opposed force or propaganda by deed, either publicly or privately. I demand and acknowledge the right of an individual, or a number of individuals, to strike back at organized power, and to defend themselves against invasion; and I have and always will stand on the side of the one who has been courageous enough to give his own life in taking or attempting to take the life of a tyrant, whether industrial or political. I am on the side of every rebel, whether his act has been beneficial or detrimental to our cause; for I do not judge an act by its result, but by its cause; and the cause of each and every rebellious act has been organized despotism, robbery and exploitation on the part of society, and the innate sense of justice and a rebellious spirit on the part of the individual.

What I said, and shall repeat again and again, is that violence is not a phase of Anarchism. The philosophy of Anarchy is based on harmony, on peace; and it recognizes the right of every individual to life, liberty and development, and opposes all forms of invasion; consequently the philosophy of Anarchy is an absolute foe to violence, therefore I do not advocate violence. An Anarchist who advocates violence as a part of the teachings of Anarchy, has never properly understood its doctrines. If I stand on the side of the rebel, or if I approve of an act of violence, it is only because I know that organized force—government—leaves us no other method of propaganda—because we are the invaded, and not the invaders.

The mass of mankind can remain indifferent in the face of every injustice; but fortunately for humanity, there are men and women whose whole beings rebel against injustice, whose social instincts are so strongly developed that they feel every blow which the present economic and political system strikes at society. Such men and women can no more stand quietly by and see workers shot, children starved, women outraged, and thousands of the social family ruined, destroyed and killed, than one's breathing functions can work without pure air; but they are not necessarily Anarchists; they have existed and rebelled as long as the world exists, long before Anarchists or Anarchism was known; and it is well that they exist, otherwise despots would reign supreme, and life be unbearable. Let us therefore understand that violence is a product of oppression, of need, of suffering, and man's innate sense of justice and social instinct—if not crushed by commercialism—on one side, and greed on the other. Incidentally I want to say that it is this sense of justice and social rebellion that have produced the philosophy of liberty, of Anarchism, and not as some of my worthy comrades insist, that it is Anarchism that makes or will make men good and just. The philosophy of Anarchy has no such metaphysical power; it cannot make pure that which is impure, nor can it make anything just which is esscentially unjust. The teachings of Anarchy are a product of man's sense of justice and craving for righteousness, based upon man's recognition of the fact that justice and righteousness are only possible in freedom, under non-invasion; and not under government, dictum, interference of man with man, either economically, politically, morally or ethically, consequently only in an Anarchistic mode of living, which is not a child of the future, but a life which each and every liberty-loving man must begin now, because it is man who makes society, and not society that makes the man.

I think I need say no more about my position towards individual or collective revolt; so I will only repeat that I am a revolutionist by nature and temperament, and as such I claim the right for myself and all those who feel with me, to rebel and resist invasion by all means, force included, consequently a destructionist. But I am also an Anarchist, and as such a constructionist. In order to construct a new sanitary building, fit for human beings to live in, I must, if I do not find cleared ground, tear down the old, rotten decayed obstacle which stands in the way of that beautiful and magnificent mansion called Anarchy.

In conclusion, I would also like to correct a statement which circulated in the daily press shortly after I left for Europe. The mouthpieces of capitalism reported, after I had been two weeks in England, that I had just sailed, and, on leaving, had told a reporter that I was disgusted with the American workers; that I considered them a lot of fools and blockheads, and a thankless crew; that I was dissatisfied with my own comrades, and that I said there were not more than a dozen Anarchists in America.

While I had not seen a single one of the press sharks, and hence could not have spoken to them, the report contained some truth. I know the responsible party, in fact every one in New York knows him; but as he is out of the movement, and has done a lot of mischief, I do not think it necessary to disclose his name. However, while it was absolutely false that I had expressed my views before I left, he often heard me say from the platform that "if the American workers were not such fools and slaves, they could not quietly submit to the growth of imperialism; they could not and would not allow the decayed institutions of Europe to replace the liberal and independent principles laid down by theirfore-fathers." This I maintain now; and add that the American worker is not only a fool, but a conceited fool, which is still worse. He believes himself free, whereas the chains of slavery make his limbs bleed; he thinks himself independent, while his back is bent with the burden of dependency; he boasts of his right to choose his master, not knowing that he thereby forefeits his right to be his own master; he claims to be charitable and ready to help his neighbor, while his only help consists in helping himself to his neighbor's property, and then to take possession of his neighbor also, as has been done in Cuba, and as is now being done in the Philippines.

Well, but is he worse than the European worker? some one may ask. No, he is not; but the European worker is the product of centuries' of despotic rule; he is a born slave—he had no choice in the matter. The American worker is born a "free man," with the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; but he makes no use of his freedom; he cannot see that liberty is like a delicate plant, and needs proper care and attention, or it fades away. Of course, all this refers to the average worker. The intelligent worker of America is the intelligent worker of the world; he stands up for his rights, and works with those whose aim in life is the establishment of equal liberty in all phases of life.

The reports said that I considered the workers "thankless." This is absolutely false. I could not consistently say so, because I do not believe in gratitude or obligation, since I am only acting according to the dictum of my inner self. No one owes me anything for my work in the movement.

Further: that I believe we have but a dozen Anarchists in America. Well, there is some truth in that, although I have not said so to any newspaper representative. Theoretical Anarchists—men and women who understand the teachings of our philosophy—we have thousands of in America, and still a larger number of those who are Anarchists without knowing it; but those who not only think, but act, who practice Anarchism in their every day life, who are consistent, who defy the world, maintain their personal liberty and consider the liberty of others, such Anarchists are indeed few, not only in America, but all over the world. Yet if liberty is ever to bless mankind, it is only when the example set by the few will be followed by the many.

Now that I have explained my position, I hope the readers of FREE SOCIETY will not misunderstand me again; and will believe only that which has my signature.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

—o—

The grand jury of Baltimore, Md., states in a report that the treatment of the girls in the Female House of Refuge is worse than the tortures inflicted upon human beings in the middle ages. When the victims enter this pious institution, 50 per cent of the girls committed to the Refuge are virtuous, but their is no virtue left when they are released.

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When two men fight, it is brutal. When one man is larger than the other, it makes it more brutal. But when a large nation fights a little one, it is called "benevolent assimilation." J. O.

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ANARCHY.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Correspondents and exchanges will please take notice, and change our temporary address, 1360 N. Rockwell St., to 515 CARROLL AVE., Chicago, Ill. Some of the mail continues to be sent to 236 Clinton Park, San Francisco, Cal. It is important that this should be changed immediately, in order to avoid trouble and annoyance.

—o—

Note and Comment.

Several thousand silk mill workers at Scranton, Pa., mostly young girls, are on strike for higher wages. On the average they earn $3.50 a week. Here is a good chance for the vice crusaders to war against the mill owners, who rob the poor girls of their earnings, thus compelling them to lead lives of poverty and prostitution.

* * *

A Japanese journal gives the Christian nations the following timely reprimand:

"There are no Christian nations. Here and there you meet a Christian, but Christian nations there are none, never were any, and today less than ever. Look at the events in China. There the Christian powers perpetrate crimes which make us heathens blush. These horrors are committed in the name of religion and of a higher civilization. And in the face of these cruelties, which you commit in the name of your savior, you dare to peal your church bells, inviting us for prayer? Go, preach to the Christians, who are so much in need of being converted to a religion of reason and goodness. And when you have made of them humane beings, then—and only then—come back to us."

* * *

The United States, or rather McKinley, promised Cuba independence. Of course no qualifications were made; and now it leaks out that it shall be the "same independence and stability that is enjoyed by New York as a permanent part of the American Union," and "any person who does anything to prevent, or delay, the fact that Cuba is, and will permanently continue a part of the United States, is an enemy to the best interests of both countries." Now, yea Cuban workers, get ready for the jails and penitentiaries, if you are not willing to submit to be fleeced under the rod of the American capitalists.

* * *

The Daily Inter Ocean, of this city, has made a very startling and significant discovery, known perhaps to the old Egyptians, and which has been an "old story" ever since mankind enjoyed the blessings of government; namely, that the thieves and burglars of Chicago work peacefully and harmoniously in cooperation with the police and detectives. That is stale news, Mr. Editor. Governments were originated to protect the plunder of pirates and other idle adventurers, and it is not to be expected that they will ever gracefully descend from their sublime heights to protect honest toil.

* * *

In New York great rivalry exists among the "upper 400" in giving the most expensive dinners, while thousands of men, women and children suffer with hunger and cold from want of food and shelter. In Spain the people are rioting and crying for bread and deliverance from king and priestcraft, while the Court is feasting and dancing and drinking champagne. The toilers drudge and suffer, while the pirates and impostors are reveling in debauchery, and squandering their plunder. But the day is approaching when the tormented and brutalized slave will become desperate, and shake off his chains; and woe to those who danced and would not listen when the downtrodden were groaning in agony!

* * *

The daily press is overwhelmed with indignation, because the Hon. Patrick Ford has abused the dead queen of Great Britain, by characterizing her as stupid, stolid, indifferent to sufferings, avaricious, etc. and this "in the very shadow of death." Contemptible scribes, who are only servile enough to rebuke a man for having some manhood left! But Patrick Ford would have come much nearer the truth had he said that she was not only indifferent to suffering and bloodshed, but a parasite who revelled in luxury at the expense of the poor, suffering workingmen, while thousands, nay, millions, of innocent men were slain in her name. What has she ever done to justify the crawlings and glorifications of the press of a "free republic"?

* * *

The iustallment of King Edward VII, the gambler, has given some American dailies occasion to point out how much less it costs to rule a republic than a monarchy, as the new figurehead will squeeze $10,000,000 out of the poor workers to liquidate the debts he has made by gambling, racing, and other worthy sports. But some of the scribes realize that there is practically no difference between the expense of a governments, be they monarchical or republican, as can be seen from the following clipping:

> But are we, sovereign citizens of the American republic, in just the position to plume ourselves upon exemption from such burdens? Let us count up what it has cost us in tariff taxation to repay the contributions to Mark Hanna's campaign fund in 1896, which made William McKinley our president. This drain upon our industries would pay the cost of maintenance of the British royal family for a great many years. And what is the paltry $10,000,000, asked by Edward VII. for the payment of his debts, in comparison with the $180,000,000 which Hanna demands in the shape of subsidies for the corporations that put McKinley in the president's chair for a second term?

Propaganda by Deed.

William Carter, brassmoulder, of Ansonia, Conn., is languishing in the County Jail at New Haven, for refusing to pay a military tax of $2. He was incarcerated on August 24, 1899, and will not be released until he weakens and complies with the demand of the State, or the law changed or the citizens of Ansonia get tired of paying his board. His confinement during eighteen months has cost the city of Ansonia $500, and they are as far from collecting the $2 as they were in the beginning. Tax collecting in this case comes rather high, and if but a fraction of those who despise taxes had the hardihood to follow Carter's example, the State would soon be bankrupt and consequently dead.

Carter does not believe in war, and shows the courage of his conviction by refusing to give his support to that ghastly, barbarous institution, even in defiance of its monstrous parasitic mother—the government.

They may arrest and cast him into prison, but they will never convince him of the ethics of training men, and manufacturing powerful machines, for the slaughter of human beings. They may deprive him of the little liberty that is so benevolently accorded to those who subserviently pay taxes that they do not believe in, but they will never persuade him that there is justice in forcing men to support institutions repugnant to his ideas of righteousness. They may shackle him, hand and foot; they may separate him from wife and family, friends and associates; they may bring the whole brute force of the State to bear upon him, and crush and conceal him from the rest of mankind. Yet he rises superior to it all and shines forth a resplendent star in the firmament of true humanity.

Carter's act is that of a brave man; a true, noble, progress-making, self-reliant individual. None but a truly great man would have braved all the powers of the State and suffered such inconvenience for the sake of maintaining a mere abstract principle. Many there are who like to theorize about principles of right and justice, but few are willing to suffer a night's imprisonment in their defense.

There is enough discontent in the world today, to change the whole fabric of society from the pain-inflicting, death-dealing, murder machine it is, into a fit habitation for righteous men and women, were such discontent backed by but half the courage and tenacity displayed by that valiant Ansonia moulder.

Men pay taxes, not because they believe in the principle of taxation, or because they agree with the uses made of money thus collected, but because they fear the brass-buttoned fellow who stands behind the tax collector. No matter how odious the system of taxation may be, the possible loss of a little personal comfort offsets it all, and they reach down deep into their pockets and fearfully hand over the product of their toil, to support institutions they inwardly despise. It is the lack of individual initiative, the fear of losing "respectability," or the dread of missing a good meal or a comfortable night's rest, that makes a slave of the average man. He will labor ten, twelve or sixteen hours per day, on the promise of a few useless luxuries, or even the bare neces-

sities of life, if they but carry with them an air of respectability. He is the creature of a public opinion which has been carefully moulding him since his conception, in its time-worn traditions and superstitions. Yet, in spite of all this external influence, progress is silently and secretly working within, creating and giving form to what is going to be the public opinion of the future.

Man, externally, lives in the past, while internally he lives in the future. Ordinarily, the past dominates all his actions, and the future—progress—is submerged and only permitted to engage attention during leisure hours when the hungers of the past are appeased. Occasionally, progress develops and becomes as great a force working from within, as the past working from without. These two opposing forces clash, and a struggle ensues. Radicalism is arrayed against conservatism. The new budding thoughts of the individual assemble themselves before the citadels of ancient age-worn communal opinions. Youth challenges old age to combat, with the world as the prize. At this stage a compromise is usually effected, which smoothes the surface of the troubled water for a while; the past and future each yield a point. Then, a man will rail at the injustice of a military tax, but will pay it promptly on demand. He will bewail the tyranny of marriage, and at the same time marry, "to save the family name." He will admit the corruption of the Church, yet make regular Sunday visits, "on account of the folks," or, because of its possible business effect.

Not infrequently the inner and nobler aspirations rise up, and set at naught all the customs and conventions of external life. The future becoming the dominant power in the individual, the past is thrust aside, and only the higher ideals are allowed to influence action. The growth and expansion of the new and ever evolving inner consciousness force the outer curtain aside, stands out in all its youthful vigor, and bids defiance to a world of sham and mockery. It will not compromise; it is obdurate, and pins its faith to the inert and latent goodness in mankind, which it persistently strives to arouse and develop. Present comforts and luxuries it rejects, if purchased with the price of conscience and liberty. Truth is its goal, freedom its road and love its guide. For without truth there can be no ideal; without freedom no passage; without love no desire.

Progress propagates itself in many different ways. First by thought, then by word, and later by action. The propaganda of deed is the most powerful and effective weapon progress has at its command; no progress could be made without it. Thought and word are the mere preliminaries of action. Action is the final and inevitable result of thought and speech. After an individual reaches a certain stage of thought, he will act, must act, in conformity with the promptings of his enlarged consciousness. The peace and harmony of being demand a conformity of external action with internal thought and feeling.

Men do not develop simultaneously. First one, then a few, then many. Then, the propaganda of deed may be the individual act of refusing to pay a tax, a John Brown raid or an American Revolution. They are all three inevitable and just as necessary, one to the other, as the three stages of growth to the individual. We have first a child, then a youth, then a man. Without the child there is no man. Without the individual tax defier there could be no progress, no American or French Revolution, because nature expresses itself in just that way. It is the unfolding of the process of growth. One man refuses to pay a tax, his example is followed by many others, and presently we have a nation of tax-defying rebels, and the injustice is wiped out.

Many who glorify and grow eloquent in their praise of the American and French Revolutions, are horrified when an individual becomes possessed of the courage of a nation, and strikes a blow at the tyranny that surrounds him. Such men only display their ignorance of the laws of evolution.

"Why," they ask, "should that man sacrifice his liberty for the sake of a small tax? Why should this or that man be held responsible for the injustice of the age? It is not they but the system that's to blame. Besides, these individual acts are not necessary to the final revolution, which itself can be done without; for by the intelligent use of the ballot we may obtain all the justice and liberty we want." Which may be all true. At least, if I had the arranging of matters I would have them just that way. To be sure, these revolts are not necessary! Neither is the child necessary to the man. It would be much more pleasant, indeed, if we could pluck them, full grown, from a pear or fig tree; it would save a vast amount of trouble in raising them. But somehow or other, they do not come that way, and we have to be content with the crude, tiresome process of development. It is dissapointing, but we cannot alter it; and can only observe the way nature works, and draw conclusions accordingly, and not from our imaginations.

Systems of economics, politics and religion grow, imbibe and foster all the corruption of their age; become unbearable and are condemned by the individual, who, by his propaganda of deed, awakens his fellows to a higher consciousness of liberty and equality. When this has been accomplished, and when at last they see the depth of their slavery, it is always too late to dally with fine academical reasoning or slow parliamentary procedure. And it would do them no good if they tried it. For the rulers and exploiters of the people have always loved their places too well to be allured into yielding them up by fine speeches or ballot box persuasion. It is very beautiful to think that they would. But we will write poetry some other time; today we are considering facts.

Is it reasonable to suppose that a set of individuals who compose the government, and who are the owners or the servants of those who own the wealth of the country, and enjoy all the vast luxury such ownership confers, and whose claim to ownership are based upon the brute force of an army of trained murderers who are ever ready to slay and pillage at the command of their masters; is it reasonable, I repeat, to expect this privileged class, whose one and only argument for every sort of opposition is the jail, gatling gun or gallows; is it logical to presume that they, who keep a man in jail indefinitely for refusing to be taxed, will abdicate their powers, divest themselves of all the regalia and luxuries its privileges confer, strip themselves of all the pomp of State, and step down into the ranks of the people as soon as a majority of the latter shall request it? I THINK NOT!

Yet there are many so thoughtless of the ways of mankind, or who try to read their own preconceived ideas into history, that they foolishly imagine such a miracle will take place. I am satisfied, however, that upon mature consideration they will see the folly of their way, and learn to respect the courage of the propagandist by deed; welcome his presence as the forerunner of freedom, and hail his coming with joy, as a voice in the wilderness of misery and corruption, calling to mankind to awake and beware lest the weight of its bonds sink it to depths out of which it cannot rise, and urge it on to higher and nobler ideals.

Hail to you Carter! You may not know the philosophy underlying your act, but you have better than philosophy; you have that larger consciousness of right and liberty upon which is based the greatest system of human philosophy—ANARCHY. JAY FOX.

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Constitutions.

England's so-called Constitution is a thing of tradition, sentiment, theory, abstraction, anything except organic, supreme, settled law. What is constitutional today, tomorrow may become unconstitutional by the mere fiat of the British Parliament. The courts construe the laws, but can neither protect one department of the government against another, nor the individual against the tyranny of the majority.—*Chicago American.*

These articles of agreement between Church and State, called the British Constitution, are for no other purpose than the exploitation of the British proletaire. "What is constitutional today may become unconstitutional by the mere fiat of the British Parliament," alias organized robbery, working always in the interest of capitalism. But, however ready and willing they are to discard the constitutionality of an act in favor of oppression, (as it is most logical they should do, being capitalists themselves), the proletaire will find this same Constitution anything but abstract; in fact he will find it a very materialistic and concrete obstacle in the way of securing any justice for himself.

Of all the epithets applied to it in the above quotation, the most fitting is that of "tradition." Placed in the light of reason, all constitutions are mere theory, groundless, oppressive and hateful, and their power can only be nullified when mankind totally ignores them. It is not the constitution that "grants the power" to tyrannize over the individual; it is the individual who cannot find the strength and logic in his own nature to throw aside the fetich of governmentalism.

Constitutions are based on sentiment; a sentiment of blind worship of leadership grounded in authority; a sentiment of silly sentimentalism, devoid of individual strength and character.

If we are to have constitutions to govern us, we might as well have kings; perhaps we would rather have them, for kings can frequently be prevailed upon to change their

minds. A constitution delegates power to individuals to rule over men. It is the despotism of law conveyed in the form of voluntary agreement. It is the nucleus from which springs all tyranny in the shape of criminal and civil law, created to sustain it. Constitutions are premised upon right and wrong action, and they are supposed to have special privilege in monopolizing the thoughts embraced in them, handed down by a generation of ignorant forefathers, whose environments were in no wise analogous to our own.

Anarchist philosophy teaches individual initiative and self-responsibility, and adherence to the letter of a constitution renders this impossible. Freedom can only be attained through being free, and the sooner we do away with all constitutions, the more quickly will we achieve our freedom. G. B. B.

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Parables.

Translated from the Iapygian, by C. L. James.

A sea-monster appeared in the harbor of a certain city, and drank up the water so greedily that the ships began to run aground. After the people had purified themselves by fasting, and offered sacrifices to appease the gods, they assembled on the shore; and their wise men began consulting how they should deal with the monster. A philosopher, who was noted for benevolence, said: "The sailors must not be allowed to suffer want of water. Let us dip some out of the fountain which flows by the altar of Pity, and pour it into the harbor, that there may be enough." But the archon said: "I am afraid that will be too slow. Let us tax ourselves to build a reservoir big enough to keep the monster in. Then will strangers from all end of the earth come to see him, and bring much wealth into our city." Then arose a philosopher of the Cynic school, and said: "Deluded people! this is the monster who drank up the waters of Babylon and Tyre, and made these markets of the world a desolation. Kill this monster! Kill him instantly, or he might as well kill you." But the kind philosopher said it would be unpious to kill the poor monster; and the archon said that though such monsters were troublesome when they grew so large, no city could be governed without at least a small one. So the monster drank the harbor up; and the city became a desolation, like Babylon or Tyre.

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A certain quack had imposed upon the people of a city by pretending to cure the king, who in fact got well of his own accord; for the quack gave him nothing but water sweetened with honey. So the quack was made court-physician; and no doctor was allowed to practice without his license. One day a poor man came to the quack, and complained that there were lice on his head. "I will kill them," said his quackship, whose heart chanced to be merry with wine. So he gave the poor man a blow on the head with a cudgel. The patient groaned; but the quack said, "I killed several that time." So the poor man paid his fee; and, when he earned more money, he came to have more lice killed in the same manner. One day the quack's servant, pitying the deluded patient, said to him: "Friend, which hurts you most,—a louse on your head or a cudgel?" "The cudgel, certainly," said the patient; "but think how many lice there would be save for the cudgel!" "And which," said the servant, "will kill them the fastest, your own fingers or my master's cudgel?" "My fingers, of course," replied the man with the lice; "but shall I presume to treat myself, when the king has given me a physician?" So he continues to pay his fees, and have his head belabored; but he has not yet got rid of lice. As to the slave, the man with the lice informed against him; and he was hanged for seeking to overthrow the social system.

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Xerxes, the king, promised a reward to the man who would find him a new pleasure. This was shortly after he hanged Haman; so Mordecai, the Jew, was now prime minister. He told the king that he could give him a new pleasure, which proved to be this, that they should go out into a forest and hear the nightingale sing. "But," said Xerxes, "I have a bird in a golden cage which sings much better. I paid half a years' revenue to obtain her." "This bird, oh king," said Mordecai, "you may hear her for nothing." "I do not like her any the better for that," said Xerxes. And he went back to Asia dissapointed. But next time he had the blue devils, after a banquet of wine, he proposed of his own accord, to go and hear the nightingale. He admitted, now, she sang better than his caged bird. However, in the woods, he passed some peasants, and learned that they too were listening to the nightingale. "Cut off the heads of the unpious wretches who dare to share in my new pleasure!" roared his majesty. But Mordecai said: "Oh king, live forever! You cannot cut off enough heads to prevent your peasants from listening to the nightingale." "The nightingale is a prostitute," said Xerxes. "Every clown may enjoy her sweetness!" "Nay, sire," pleaded Mordecai. "Your caged bird is the prostitute; for, though you are rich, you have not money enough to tempt the nightingale into singing when she does not choose." Xerxes went a third time to hear the nightingale; after which he gave Mordecai the reward, and had a lodge built for his pleasure in the forest. As to the caged bird, he bade his servants let her fly away.

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The Nation Crusade.

Dean J. W. Sykes, in the Topeka Capitol, speaking of the Carrie Nation crusade, says:

> It is my judgment that no citizen has the right, morally or legally, in a community where laws exist, to take the law into his or her own hands. I can conceive of but one condition under which individuals are justified in administering law, and that is where persons live in a community where there is no statutory law.

Our friend, the dean, is logical as far as he goes; but he cannot see that it might be desirable for the people to take the law into their own hands and administer it, instead of delegating their powers to others; thereby creating a law-making and administering class who will certainly legislate in their own interests.

If the law can be violated with impunity, as you know it can, by the very people who make it, then who is benefitted?

The violation of law by "jointists" is connived at by the law-makers themselves, and then they turn around and sanction smashing expeditions.

And the fool people stand around and follow one crowd, and then the other, but always to the slaughter. They are tickled to think they are allowed to help their masters, and proud to do the dirty work, while their dear judges sit around and talk about it.

The people go on little civilizing jaunts into the Philippines, South Africa and India at the bidding of our commercial interests, but they have yet to learn what they get out of it; and we'll wait some time before they do learn.

What's the use?

Why not make our own laws, and if we are interested enough, see that they are enforced? Would we make more mistakes than our friends on the benches do now?

Is it not notorious that there are more rascals loose, than confined in our twentieth century civilizing institutions—the modern jails? J. O.

COMMENT.

Comrade J. O. evidently does not mean to imply that people should enact and enforce statutory laws, as it will be understood by many readers. Yet spontaneous rules of conduct are neither "made" nor "enforced" by statutory law: they are the natural result of association and experiment, varying according to climate, culture, and the conditions in which people find themselves. And because people have ample opportunity and free scope to adjust themselves to their environment, we find the most harmonious associations where government is absent. Strife, dissenions, so-called crimes, misery, inequality, oppression, —in short, all our ills can be traced to government and ignorance. A. I.

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New Declaration of Economic Independence.

"Accepting the old century and its work at their full value, and reaffirming the old Declaration of Political Independence, we, a small band of workers and comrades, standing with resolute hearts, our faces to the future, quietly and without offence, seize this dramatic moment to make our new declaration, 'Economic Independence.'

"We affirm the universal brotherhood of man, without limit as to country, color, or creed.

"We deny the right of kings, priests or legislators to rule over us.

"We affirm the right of every man, woman and child to live his or her own life in his or her own way, without interference from without, and to the end that this brotherhood in freedom be realized,

"We declare that

"The land shall be to him. who cultivates it.

"The mine to the miner.

"The tool to him who uses it.

"The factories to those who work in them.

"And the common product to the whole people.

"And we pledge ourselves that during so much of the new century as shall be ours, our increasing endeavor shall be to bring about these results, and so to realize the solidarity of man."

Of the two hundred and fifty persons present not one kept his seat, not one dissenting voice was heard, while point by point the reading was received with applause which testified acceptance.—*Social Science Journal*, Philadelphia, Pa.

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An Old Crime Breeder.

What a grand, glorious government! How charitable! To give three and one half tons of coal to a poor, struggling widow, and *can't* pay her the few, paltry, hard-earned dollars to keep starvation and death away.

Think of the beauties of our government, when landlordism is allowed to exist,—landlords who own more houses than they can use, while poor families are turned out in the street to face the rain and snow. Think of the grandeur of our government, when monopolies exist to keep the poor from getting bread—the right of every person, and not of one or one dozen men only.

What a wonderful government it is that does *not* allow a man the right to enjoy *all* the benefits of his labor, but *will* allow and *protect* a few "privileged characters" and non-producers to sit around and draw the very life-blood from the producer in order that he (the non-producer) may live in idle luxury.

Why does Charity sit in the place of Justice? Why is it that the workingmen do not see the wrongs done them? Do they see them and think they are unavoidable, or have they time to right them when their stomachs are empty and their homes cold, and every spare minute they have is spent in providing for the present? Can they think of the future when the present keeps their noses to the grind-stone of industrial slavery?

Eighteen hundred city employes unpaid! Hard workingmen, men who do the city's drudgery, left unpaid, while judges and the "boodlers" (who re-elect themselves, after having been once in office) sit around and administer large doses of justice (?) to the "small fry." Their stomachs and coal bins are full, and their rent is paid. What more do you expect? Do they not buy themselves into office so that they may have their wants provided for at the expense of some one else? Do you think they are going to *earn* their bread, when other people will do it for them?

Think of Mrs. Meeker trying to sell coal to pay rent to the Board of Education (a city institution) and get carfare to work for a city, a government that will let her starve! A woman who ekes out a miserable existence is forced to ask for something to eat, while the majority of these "boodlers" and "soul-savers" have money hoarded up in safety-vaults to provide for their off-spring, who are educated in such "refined institutions" that they are not fit for anything but foot-ball games and tea-parties when they have graduated.

"I did not mean to be dishonest when I attempted to sell the coal." Poor woman! How dreadfully dishonest you were! How dare you sell anything that was given you by the city! Don't you know that you are under obligations to anybody who gives you what is yours rightfully,—especially a government that you uphold by paying your taxes?

You may not *want* to uphold a government, but if you don't, your last means of livelihood is taken from you through the elastic phrases of the law. You may uphold a government, but the government won't uphold you. No, indeed, it is not made for your protection, but your submission.

Why is it that the moneyed men get in office, and how do they get rich while in in office when their salaries are spent to re-elect themselves? Will some one please tell me? Why is it that eighteen hundred city employes are not paid, because the County Board of Appropriations are quarreling about the reduction of their own salaries?

GOLDIE KINSELLA.

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Lives Two Ways.

Men live in two ways; in themselves and in the memories of others. The life of some men extend but slightly beyond the narrow confine of their own bodies. It concentrates itself there and thinks, like the snail in his shell, that it has the universe to itself and is proud, vain and arrogant. Such lives, being self-centered and self-sighted, feels and sees but little of the great sorrow ing mass of humanity in which they move. They mount the apex of their own conceits, turn their gaze inwards and gape on the nothingness of their own contracted souls. Thus circumscribed, they pass the fleeting hours, and are presently extinguished by a breath from the infinite. Buried, and e'er the echo of the last funeral knell has died, forgotten. Of those the world hath plenty

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Others there be whose lives encompass the universe. Their souls grow and expand, and soon overflow their individual bounds; flowing out in ever increasing volumes to mingle with the teeming, throbbing ocean of life beyond. They become the pulse of humanity, and the common channel through which the joys and sorrows of the race flow. The pain of a brother is their pain. They dry the tears of the weeping ones, and rejoice with all. They are the voice of the race; they give form; speech to the inarticulate longings of humanity. They dethrone the tyrant and exalt freedom. They are the higher consciousness. Theirs is the life immortal. They are never forgotten. Few are these, but growing.

J. F.

For NEW YORK.

Comrades will please remember that M. Maisel, 170 Henry St., receives subscriptions for FREE SOCIETY. There are many subscribers in arears, and they are kindly requested to renew their subscription or to notify us of their inability to pay at present, otherwise their subscription will be discontinued.

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Literature.

Eu marche verse la Society Nouvelle. By C. Cornelissen. Stock, editor, Paris.

This is indeed an honest and refreshing book. The author, the well known Dutch Anarchist, journalist and orator, gives us a very clear exposition of the different Socialist ideals and tactics. In his critique he proves himself a very accomplished student of the Socialist literature of different countries. But the greatest merit of the book is, undoubtedly, the originality of analysis and of argument displayed by the author. For instance, the reader will certainly agree with us that the following quotation is very clear and quite original:

These economists of the bourgeois class forget, however, that if the land, or even the whole of nature is an indispensable factor in the social process of the production of riches, this is not so with the *proprietors* of the land, who are quite superfluous. In the same way, capital may be considered, and quite truly, as absolutely necessary for the production of wealth; but we can do quite well without *capitalists*, who are only obstacles in the way of production. Are they not preventing the intellectual and manual workers from using the social capital in the most productive way?

But it is quite different with the third factor: labor. Once acknowledge that labor is indispensable to the production of wealth, and it must be admitted that the *workers* are also indispensable, because it is they who possess the productive power.

If the capitalists and landowners are superfluous in their quality of possessors, and prevent even more and more the regular course of production, the workers' is the only class of society which is really necessary. This is *the* only class by which in reality the social life of humanity is sustained.

By the law of necessity, or through the natuarl outcome of their egoism, men must arrive at a social organisation where the means of existence—land, factories, machines, tools, shops and warehouses, means of communication and transport, as well as all articles of consumption—will be the collective property of humanity. Correlatively, and necessarily, we shall see the growth of autonomy in the people of each country, of each region, of each community, as also the possibility for the workers of each factory to organize all their business themselves. So the task of the Communist society of the future will consist in developing and assuring liberty to each individual without injuriug the wallare or violating the liberty of others.

The management and administration of labor in its entirety, according to the will of the majority of the fellow workers can only be maintained, in the long run, on condition the minority shall not be opposed in the least if they want to form a new group.

Towards this free, libertarian Communism present humanity is approaching in its evolution; this libertarian Communism will alone be a final solution of the social problem, because even Social Democratic aims "remain, nevertheless, measures of State Socialism only, or to characterize even better this preservation of the wage-earners, they are measures of *State Capitalism*."

Space does not permit us to make further quotations, so we conclude by warmly recommending this book to all friends and comrades.—W. Tcherkessov in London *Freedom*.

300

The number printed on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

For PHILADELPHIA.

There will be held for the benefit of FREE SOCIETY, the twentieth century Russian tea party, concert and ball, with Mmes. Barili and Staller and Sig. Giannini among the talent, on Friday evening, March 1, 1901, commencing at 7:30 p. m., at Pennsylvania Hall, Christian Street, below Eighth. Dancing till 3 a. m. Tickets 25 cents.

For CHICAGO.

The FREE SOCIETY SUSTAINING CLUB meets every Wednesday evening at 515 Carroll Ave. Subject for discussion February 13, "Propaganda by Deed." Comrade A. Isaak, Jr. will open the discussion. As this is an important question concerning our own tactics, we hope many comrades will be present.

The Lake Street Elevated, Ashland Avenue Station, or any surface line crossing Ashland Ave. or Paulina street will take you here, which is one block east of Ashland Ave.

He Who is to Lead Us--And Our Cradle.

The sentence, "born and reared among the toiling classes, and, being a close student of their economic and political life," must and should be the leading feature in the career of one who undertakes to instruct and lead the toiling masses unto their salvation. I do not limit to the "born and reared" men the instructorship and leadership of the masses; as a good many men who were and are leaders, were and are merely "close students" of the life of the masses.

One may be "born and reared" among the masses, and yet be very ignorant of their condition; but one may be a "close student," and, if of the right turn of mind, may be an able and acumen standard-bearer.

Facts show that the individual, as well as the masses, of whom the individual is the main factor, is probably ignorant of his condition, and, I will venture to say, keep themselves there through their own inactivity. Consequently I say that one who is to instruct and lead the masses, must be one of them, a "close student" "born and reared" among them. One who feels what the mass feels; one who feels the sting what the mass feels; and one while the masses "cried, has wept,"

Having given my opinion who is best fit to lead, I will attempt to describe (pardon me for being quite presumptious,) or to give my opinion of our "Cradle" which produces the men that are fit for leaders, as is written above.

We enter, or are forced upon this world without our solicitation or consent. We are reared by our parents in the best, (in their opinion) way, and under reasonable circumstances, so as to be able to "shift" for ourselves in this world.

Now, without going any further allow me to enter a protest against the usual mode of rearing the children. Teaching their offspring, by their own conduct, the life which the parents of said offspring lead is so marked with prejudice and hypocrisy, and together with the education which the so-called public institution give their offspring, have a great evil influence upon the future life of their children.

Let us turn to the economic state of our "Cradle." Whether they are common laborers, professional men or middle class men, they are taught to guide themselves by the "survival of the fittest" principle. They start out to carry this principle to their highest (meanest) conception, and they enter helter-skelter in the struggle; and if it were necessary, and it often is, as the logical conclusion of war, leads us to believe, would trample over the dead bodies of their brothers." But there are some of their "brothers" who by the will of providence and might usually render their "brothers" the staggering and settling blow. Thus the Lord's children are devided into Cains and Abels:—One is the "knocker down," the other the "knocked down"; one is the oppressor, the other the oppressed; one is the ruler, the other the ruled; one the exploiter, the other exploited; one the enslaver, the other the enslaved.

This, my friends, is our "Cradle," and its offsprings whether good, or bad, are well known. S. MINTZ.

New York.

[I would like to remind Comrade Mintz of the fact, that as long as the masses rely upon "leaders," whether the latter be fit or unfit to lead, just that long will they be misled. It is not leadership that we must cultivate, but intelligence and self-r liance; in short, the "masses" must free themselves. A. I.]

United States Support Slavery and Polygamy.

The Sultan of Sulu, or Jolo, who exercises authority over the islands of the Sulu archipelago, assisted by a number of Datos, is, doubtless, all things considered, the rarest animal so far found in our Oriental empire. He is a Mohammedan, a polygamist, a pirate, a slave catcher and a slave owner. He runs a harem, numerously supplied with wives and wenches. He is the whole thing, or was until we captured him, and in acknowledging the sovereignty of the United States, he not only stipulated that his rights and prerogatives as ruler should not only remain undisturbed, but that the United States should pay him a salary of $250 a month, and also put his Datos on its pay roll, making the monthly tribute $760, or $9,120 a year. As a result, "Old Glory" now protects the Mohammedan religion, polygamy and slavery, the cost to the American tax-payer being about $10,000 a year. With this sum the Sultan and his Datos can purchase more slaves, and replenish and improve their harems. On the face of the returns it appears that the Sultan of Jolo and his Datos got the better of Billy Mac by a large majority.

Chords.

The king, according to Christian ideas, was the delegate and representative of God. This is really the only foundation that government can have. But if God proves to be only a myth, a conception, what becomes of the foundation of government?

If we knew that the elegant gentleman that we happened to meet had cloven feet, we would have nothing to do with him; if we knew that the State which comes to us with such earnest prostestations of friendship and esteem was in reality our most dangerous enemy, we would never rest a moment while our fate was subject to the control of such a monster.

Government originally undertook to control the actions of men only so far as they were dangerous to the community. At first the State never presumed to regulate the conduct or control the thoughts of men. But now, through a progressive series of encroachment continued for hundreds of years, the State has usurped the powers of the Church and it seeks to control the thoughts as well as the actions of men. Indeed, the power that controls thoughts must also control actions.—*Newark Courier.*

Phil D. Armour, in his slaughtering pens, could skin a steer in a minute, but capitalism skins 20,000,000 workingmen every day of the round year.

"The silk worm spins its task, lays its egg and dies."—Do wage slaves do more than the silk worm?—*Social Democratic Herald.*

The Letter-Box.

J. F. Baymiller, Pullman, Wash.—You may be able to define governmental Socialism, as advocated by the so-called Socialist press of today; but before you enter the public arena to criticize Anarchism, you ought to have at least an elementary conception of its philosophy and aims. We are living in the twentieth century, and a "Socialist" ought to be ambitious enough to know what he is talnkig about when he comes before the pubic, or else he will arouse very little attention.

G. S., Pittsburg, Pa.—Your address has been changed, and I suppose you have received the paper meanwhile.

C. R. C., Pittsburg, Pa.—"Secret and Confidential Address" is out of print, as far as we know.

A. W., St. Charles, Ill.—The books have been sent this week, and I hope you will excuse the delay. Shall be glad to make your acquaintance.

RECEIPTS.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Collins, Kisluck, Westrup, Nussbeck, each $1. Kunze, Gutes, Weiner, Leighton, Loque, Fromhaagen, Dunton, Goggin, each 50c. Stark, Brukk, each 25c.

DONATIONS.

Debating Club No.1, City, $7.49. Frauen Arbeiter-Bund, Philadelphia, $6.75. Internationaler Maennerchor, Brooklyn, N. Y. $3. Social Science Club, Philadelyhia, $1.59. Eleventh November Commemoration, Philadelphia, $1.

Dunton, Leighton, each 59c.

BOOK LIST.

ALL ORDERS FOR THE FOLLOWING BOOKS RECEIVED AT THIS OFFICE.

Essays on the Social Problem	H. Addis	05
The Education of the Feminine Will	Grant Allen	05
The New Hedonism	"	05
Plain Words on the Woman Question	"	05
Prejudice?	M. Bachman	50
God and the State	Bakunin	05
The Same. (London edition.)		10
The Proletarian Revolt, a History of the Paris Commune of 1871	G. B. Benham	25
The Worm Turns	V. de Cleyre	10
The Evolution of the Family	J. M. Crane	05
Evolution of Modesty	"	05
The Emancipation of Society from Government	Dallan Doyle	05
Moribund Society and Anarchy. Cloth 60c	Jean Grave	25
Marriage and Morality		
A Physician in the House	Dr. J. H. Greer	2.75
	Lillian Harman	05
Regeneration of Society	"	05
Love in Freedom	Moses Harman	05
Motherhood in Freedom	"	05
How to Dispose of Surplus Products and Employ Surplus Labor.	Kinghorn-Jones	05
Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal	Peter Kropotkin	05
Anarchist Morality	"	05
Law and Authority	"	05
Memoirs of a Revolutionist	"	2.00
Paris Commune	"	05
The State: Its Historic Role	"	10
The Wage System. Revolutionary Government	"	05
History of the Commune. Cloth	Lissagary	75
Anarchy	Enrico Malatesta	05
Anarchy. (Is It All a Dream?	James F. Morton, Jr.) "	10
Commune of Paris	Wm. Morris	05
Monopoly	"	05
God and Government: The Siamese Responsibility and Solidarity in the Labor Struggle	M. Nettlau	05
Twins of Superstition	W. Nevill	05
Mating or Marrying, Which?	W. H. Van Ornum	05
Evolution and Revolution	Reclus	05
Direct Action vs. Direct Legislation	J. Blair Smith	05
Helen Harlow's Vow	Lois Waisbrooker	25
My Century Plant. Cloth	"	1.00
The Temperance Folly	"	10
Wherefore Investigating Co	"	25
Our Worship of Primitive Social Guesses	E. C. Walker	15
Revival of Puritanism	"	10
What the Young Need to Know	"	15
Life Without a Master. 336 pp. Cloth $1.50	J. Wilson	1.00
The New Dispensation. Cloth.	"	1.50
The Coming Woman	Lillie White	05
The Chicago Martyrs: The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists in Judge Gary's Court; and Altgeld's Reason's for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe and Schwab		25